175 on this long journey with, however, little practical success. As early as the reign of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav, his son, definite attempts were being made to share in the general cultural life of Europe through alliances with the powers of the West. Yaroslav in particular was zealous to form family alliances with western princes. It was also in keeping with this policy that he appointed Hilarion, a native monk of some standing, to be Metropolitan of Kyiv, a position hitherto always held by a Greek; he sought thus to strengthen his position with regard to Byzantium in the ecclesiastical as well as in the political world. Izyaslav, Yaroslav's eldest son, first negotiated with King Henry IV, whose wife, Praxedis, was a daughter of Vsevolod, Grand Prince of Kyiv, and later with his adversary, Pope Gregory VII, in order to establish contact with Rome. These and similar events point clearly to the fact that, in spite of geographical position and distance from Western Europe, in spite of the vicinity and the influence of the Byzantine empire, the Kyiv state and its leaders pursued a policy that was definitely directed towards the west.

175 After the Tatar invasion of the Ukrainian steppe, the reins
● 177 of government in Ukraine fell into the hands of the Galician-Volynian Realm which, as an advanced outpost on the way to the West, became a channel of communication between the "world" of those days and the East. As was natural, western influences here became stronger, the romanesque style dominated in architecture and Latin became the language of public life. But the waves sent out by the West did not stop merely at the country that was nearest in space; they spread further east, where from the outset they counteracted a one-sided influence from Byzantium.

Lithuanian dominion over Ukraine was fundamentally peaceful in character; Lithuania had the upper hand in politics, but Ukraine was superior to her partner in culture, an advantage which was not abandoned when the Union with Poland took place. But this latter historical fact nevertheless brought Ukrainian territory into still closer contact with movements in the culture of Western Europe which, favored by fortunate conditions, spread rapidly eastwards. The Magdeburg Statute which

had been known earlier in Western Ukraine as a privilege of the towns (Volodymyr from 1324 and Syanik from 1339) becomes the basis of organisation for further settlements in newly acquired areas. German artisans and artists are welcome to these areas and the youth of Ukraine are fired with enthusiasm to attend German and Italian universities in order to acquire learning with which they will subsequently enrich life at home. Thus western cultural movements like Humanism, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation penetrated at long length the wide-flung steppe. It is true that they sometimes caused effects there that could not have been expected from experience in other countries. This is seen best in the case of the Reformation.

After the amalgamation of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian state with Poland, the Orthodox Church, though already shaken to its foundations, begins to play an important part in public life; after the loss of Ukrainian independence, it becomes a rallying point for national feeling and the difference in creed between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches coincides with the political difference between Poles and Ukrainians; it was therefore natural that nationalist circles should be absolutely opposed to every further attempt to weaken the Ukrainian Church. It was well known that grievous abuses had crept into the organisation and life of the Orthodox Church, for those abuses arose from the new position it had been forced to assume. From having been an all-powerful state church it was degraded to become a factor in a strange country that was barely tolerated and was therefore unable to control its own administration, all the more as it had no longer a decisive say in making church appointments. It was common property that Orthodoxy in Ukraine was in a critically weak condition of disintegration, but nobody dreamt of opposing it and still less of replacing it by another creed, its fall would have been a severe, if not fatal blow to the entire life of the nation.

Such were the psychological reasons for the fact that the reformation movement found such a weak echo in Ukraine, though the necessity for a change in conditions, for reform, but from within, was felt by all.

874 of his fathers", of the Orthodoxy. He is thus a concrete symbol
795 of the synthesis of two worlds, of the harmonious and complete
union of two cultures, of the meeting of East and West and of
177 the fertilising of Ukrainian Orthodoxy by the Latin spirit of
.79 the Roman Catholic Church.

795 The seed scattered by Mohyla bore rich fruit. Hundreds of
874 scholars, writers, politicians and organisers graduated in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries from this unique "alma mater", the Kyiv Academy, equipped with the modern weapons of western learning, to fight first of all for the independence and the honor of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. After completing their studies in Kyiv the Ukrainian patriots of that time go to Germany to appropriate the arguments used by the Reformation against Catholicism, they penetrate to Rome and do not shrink from joining the Roman Church for a season only in order to become better acquainted with their opponent's plans in the very center of his camp. On their return home they develop an energetic campaign in teaching and writing to prepare and train wide circles of less well educated priests for the fight. In order to supply their audiences with intellectual munition, they publish a series of pamphlets directed against the enemy and all manner of apologies in defence of their own cause, utilising the knowledge they had gathered in the West. This leads to an enormous outburst of polemic writing, to an intellectual activity in the country which strikes even foreigners.

● 177 But the efforts of these champions of Ukrainian Orthodoxy
814 who had been trained in the West, did not stop there; they performed a still more important function in making European influence supreme in the state of Moscow, or the Russia of Peter, as it was then called. Ukraine contributed no mean share to the work of Peter the Great. The foundation and building of the modern Russian Empire was the almost unaided work of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, for the intellectual conditions for the solving of this task were almost completely lacking in Moscow itself. In order to carry out his reforms which soon degenerated into an absolute mania for reform, Peter utilised

the powers of the South which, in the 17th and 18th centuries could boast of a brilliant galaxy of scholars while Moscow and the North were still wrapped in darkness. The most important, but by no means all of the intellectual leaders in Ukraine were Herasym and Meletij Smotrytskyj, Christophor Philalet, Ivan Vyshenskyj, Kyrylo Tranquillion Stavrovetskyj, Zahar Kopystenskyj, Jelissej Pletenetskyj, Lavryn Sysanyj, Petro Mohyla, Kassian Sakovych, Taras Zemka, Sylvester Kossov, Lazar Baranovych, Joannykyj Galatovskyj, Dmytro Rostovskyj, Inokentyj Gisel, Stefan Javorskyj, Theophilakt Lopatynskyj, Teophan Prokopovych — and the list is by no means exhausted. The Moscow of these days had very few and not the most prominent names with which to confront this host. It is quite comprehensible that, in these circumstances, Peter I should have had too great a predilection for those products of culture, which had developed in Ukraine under the immediate influence of Western intellectual life. The contribution of Ukraine to the public life of Russia is perhaps best characterised by two men, Stefan Javorskyj and Theophan Prokopovych, both of them students and professors at the Kyiv Academy, the first of whom became "Administrator of the Patriarchal See" after Peter had decided to renounce the patriarchate, while the second was active as a reformer of church administration in Russia and as the Tsar's adviser in all important matters of state.

This process of the mutual penetration of the physical power of the North with the intellectual strength of the South, initiated by Peter the Great's reforms, did not bring lasting blessing to either. It was natural that Ukraine, politically crushed and intellectually exploited to the full by Moscow during the 19th century should have been obliged to lead the shadow of an existence; but neither was Moscow, the fortunate profiteer of this relationship, capable of maintaining the supremacy it owed to the artificial appropriation of European culture, for the products of western culture which had been transplanted from the south as the foundation of public life proved to be too weak to sustain the edifice of the gigantic empire in times of crisis. Even before the catastrophe, in the second half of the

177 19th century, there were numerous intellectuals in Russia who turned from a Europe which they alleged to be disintegrating towards the East, their spiritual home. From their own point of view the leaders of the new Russia are certainly right in postulating the Eurasian solution of this problem. But this natural process brings that part of Ukraine which is still incorporated with Russia into an extremely difficult position as the trends of its development and its sympathies are entirely opposed to such a course.

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

distribution. These co-operatives formed the basis of a certain national unity which found expression in the political field.

Volhynia, partitioned after the war of 1920 between the Poles and the Soviets, is nearly as old an agricultural country as Galicia. Here the strips of rich black earth alternate with sandy and wooded country. Although density of population is not so great as in Galicia, poverty is perhaps even greater, owing to a lack of that capacity for organization which helps the Galician labourers to survive. The large estates of the Polish nobility have long disappeared; after the last war the Polish Government divided up the land. Numerous strips were allotted to Polish soldiers on the expiration of their service—with the intention of strengthening the Polish ethnic and cultural element in the region. The disappearance of the large estates, as in Transylvania and Roumania, had a deleterious effect on agricultural production and on the proper exploitation of the forests. The majority of the people lead a half-starved existence, and the young men dream of emigration to South America. In 1937, 25 per cent of the population of Polish Volhynia had neither bread nor wood.

Podolia has been a land of cultivation since the Middle Ages, although the soil was broken up two or three hundred years later than in Galicia and Volhynia. Now, as before the period of war and revolution (1914–20), Podolia remains in a close economic relationship to the other parts of the Ukraine. The black earth of this favoured province is really fruitful and well watered by numerous small rivers; climatic conditions are better than anywhere throughout the Ukraine—rain is plentiful and regular and the winters are short. It was probably the fields and pastures, the hillocks and woods of Podolia which the Polish poet had in mind when he wrote lyrically of 'the birthplace of Ceres and Diana'. Horticulture and apiculture have long flourished there.

In the past social conditions varied with the political situation according to whether the small landowners (Ukrainian Cossacks) or the Polish landlords were in the ascendant. During the eighteenth century Polish elements had the upper hand and for some time Podolia remained the last refuge of the Polish aristocracy. Polish social influences survived the Three Partitions, and it was only after the Polish Insurrection of 1830 that conditions began to change in favour of the Russian majority in the population.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century this rich land with its soft climate had become very densely populated. By the end of the century Podolia ranked second in density of population of all the regions of the Russian Empire. The Government of Moscow took

638 rather far removed from the developments of the present, interested in literature and literary criticism and standing for the preservation of cultural values.

In view of the relations between the Communists in Ukraine and those in the RSFSR, it was only natural that all of the literary debates that went on in Moscow should find an echo in Ukraine. This was the period when Bukharin, Trotsky and Lunacharsky were debating very seriously the relations between the Communists, the proletarian writers and the so-called "fellow-travellers" who sympathized more or less sincerely with the revolution but who had not taken the full step and become members of the Communist Party. It was in this latter group that the greater Russian writers of the day were to be found and many of them had already achieved fame before the revolution. In 1925 they succeeded in obtaining what seemed to be a certain recognition by the party and it was on the basis of these decisions and this standard that both the Symbolists and the Neo-Classicists continued to be able to publish.

At the same time Ukrainian literature could not be considered as a mere reflection of any of these groups. There was still too much consciousness of Ukrainian independence to make the more able authors merely blind imitators of a foreign literature. Besides, the contacts which still existed with Western Ukraine under Polish rule brought it about that even the Eastern Ukrainians were influenced both by the Polish and Austrian developments and writers as Stefanyk were read almost as much in Kiev and Kharkiv as they were in Lviv and Stanislaviv.

The taking over by the Borotbisty and the Ukapisty of the Commissariat for Education could not fail to have a definite effect upon the leftist writers who dreamed of establishing not only a proletarian literature but also a Ukrainian proletarian literature, and with this purpose in mind there developed at the capital of Kharkiv and also in Kiev and elsewhere a new series of literary schools and movements, each of which based itself upon its own interpretation of the revolution. They started in general from two contradictory positions, depending on whether they stressed

[after Communist rule was established in Ukraine -- Analyst]

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

separation. The Poles were Latin Catholics, while the Ukrainians, though also in obedience to the Pope, were nearly all of the Greek (i.e., Byzantine-Slavonic) rite. Consequently, it is not surprising that the ranks of the clergy provided a large proportion of the awakeners of Galician Ukrainian national feeling. Most prominent of such priests was Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyts'kyi. He was the scion of a family which was counted among the Polish nobility, but he felt himself to be Ukrainian; his career embraced almost the entire span of Ukrainian nationalist activity, from the turn of the century to the close of the period covered in this study.[13]

The reasons why a Ukrainian nationalist movement arose within the Russian Empire are not so obvious. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the great bulk of prominent men of Ukrainian ethnic origin appear to have been Russified in culture and feeling, even if they occasionally gave signs of remembering that there were different cultural elements in their family backgrounds.[14] That the Russian Empire could have carried out such a large-scale assimilation is a tribute to the degree to which it was supranational, avoiding the narrower concepts of ethnocentrism. Although a strong current had set in since the sixties, when N. T. Danilevskii's *Rossiia i Evropa* (Russia and Europe) heralded the advent of Pan-Slavism based on ethnic Russian hegemony, for many, especially for officials in the governing bureaucracy, the rule of the tsars remained an expression of the ecumenical tradition of empire, a "Third Rome," but one which

[13] See Stepan (Stephen) Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyts'kyi) (Munich: Vernyhora, Ukraïns'ke Vydavnyche Tovarystvo, 1947), and Il'ko Borschak (Elie Borschak—this author is better known by the French form of his name), *Un Prèlat Ukrainien: Le Metropolite Cheptyckyj (1865–1944)* (Paris: Editions Franco-Ukrainiennes, 1946). The fact that the parish priests of the Greek Catholic rite were allowed to marry meant that their nationalist feeling could be passed on from generation to generation, a factor of considerable significance in providing a continuing body of bearers of the "national ideal."

[14] Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution.*

Two of the best Ukrainian sources for the period are Izaac Mazepa, *Ukraïna v ohni i buri revoliutsiï, 1917–1921* (The Ukraine in the Fire and Storm of the Revolution, 1917–21), 3 vols. (Munich: Prometei, 1950–51), and Volodymyr Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia natsiï: Istoriia ukraïns'koï revoliutsiï, marets', 1917 r.—hruden', 1919 r.* (The Rebirth of a Nation: A History of the Ukrainian Revolution, March, 1917–December, 1919), 3 vols. (Vienna, 1920).

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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X. NATIONALISM AND THE EAST UKRAINIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

369 THE STUDY of the role of Ukrainian nationalist groups in admin-
186 istration and educational life has shown that urban-centered activities played a preponderant role in the development of the nationalist movements in the East Ukraine under German occupation. The more highly developed urban educational systems were primary targets for nationalist organizers, while the cities served as centers from which the nationalists sought to secure popular support by controlling cultural activities and the press. This emphasis on urban activity has a long history in the development of nationalism in both the East and the West Ukraine. Since the rural districts in both areas were strongly Ukrainian in all linguistic and cultural attributes, many felt that it was not immediately necessary to cultivate nationalist sentiment there; they felt these attributes would maintain the national distinctiveness of the villagers. Whether this was a wise view can be more adequately discussed a little later.

During the Second World War, however, this tradition did result in the nationalist groups' devoting a great portion of their limited resources to the East Ukrainian cities, where it was necessary to start almost from the bottom in building national life.
177 An impressive number of accounts by nationalist Ukrainians tes-
369 tify to the predominance of Russian speech and manners in the
186 cities of the East Ukraine throughout the war period.[1] The ex-

[1] In addition to numerous remarks of this nature already cited in relation to particular situations, see *Krakivs'ki Visti*, May 14, 1942, p. 3; November 27, 1942, p. 4; March 2, 1943, p. 2; T. Liakovych in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, May 17, 1942, p. 3; Iu. Tarkovych in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, July 12, 1942, p. 3. It may appear surprising that so many convinced adherents of the nationalist movement should have admitted and even stressed the non-Ukrainian cultural character of the cities, since usually

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planation is, of course, that a vast number of city dwellers were Russified Ukrainians. Naturally enough, the nationalist leaders felt that no secure basis for their program could exist as long as the municipalities of the country were islands of foreign culture.

Within the urban group, nationalist efforts and nationalist sentiment were largely concentrated in one social stratum. Nationalist movements throughout the world have usually been the work of the middle class. Since there had been no East Ukrainian capitalist middle class of any significance before 1920, and since there was no possibility that one could arise under Soviet conditions, except for a few traders carrying on a precarious business under the NEP, a commercial class continued to be lacking. The counterpart to private commercial enterprise which existed under the Soviet regime, the state trading system, was apparently largely operated by Jews and other non-Ukrainian elements.[2] Unfavorable appraisals of the activity of this system, plus distasteful memories of the "profit-and-run" techniques of the nepmen had produced an unattractive image of the private businessman in the minds of most East Ukrainians.[3] Although, under German occupation, a few gestures were made by some city administrations toward encouraging individual enterprise, the chief factors in production and distribution, insofar as the appalling economic conditions made such activities possible at all, were public and

nationalist movements endeavor to claim as large a proportion as possible of the inhabitants of a disputed area as members of their national group in origin and attitude. It must be remembered, however, that the OUN, and some other Ukrainian nationalist groups, were not democratic in ideology; hence the wishes of a majority at a particular time were of little importance in their eyes. Rather, this failure to possess the adherence of the inhabitants of an area which they regarded as theirs through the "rights" of history and blood served as an additional proof of the iniquities of the Soviet regime and of Russians in general and as a stimulus to more strenuous efforts to "correct" the situation.

[2] Some Ukrainians today (Interview 35) state that many wartime ascriptions of all the evils of the Soviet system to the Jews were highly exaggerated, in most cases a forced concession to Nazi racism, but insist that there was a good deal of anti-Semitism in the Ukraine because Jews predominated in retail distribution, and in the conditions of extreme shortage used their positions for selfish purposes. In view of the occupations of most Jews before the Revolution, their numerical predominance in the state distributive system is probably a fact, and it is fairly obvious that any recognizably alien group in such a position would be resented when they could not satisfy the consumers' wants, whether or not peculation played a role in their activities.

[3] Interview 65.

princes summoned by Vladimir Monomachus to organize the common defence against the Polovets nomads.

With Christianity the letters and the arts of Byzantium make their appearance in Russia. From the eleventh century Kiev adorns itself with magnificent churches. Soon afterwards great monasteries were founded and became the centres of learning in Russia. During the twelfth century the splendours of Kiev astonished the travellers coming from the west who, at this time, had not yet a town culture in the full sense of the word. The princely court became transformed by contact with Constantinople. The princes themselves spoke Greek and many other foreign languages, indulged in literary studies and encouraged the development of civilization in their country. In introducing the Slavonic language to Russia as the language of the liturgy, the Eastern Church laid the first foundations of a literary Russian language, common to the whole country. Slavonic (originally the language of the Slavs of Bulgaria) is still very nearly related to the language of the Slavs of Eastern Europe. In Russia it changes slightly by contact with local dialects, but the written language remains, in its essential features, the same in the whole country. During the centuries to come the Slavonic liturgy and the fundamental similarity of the written language helped the different parts of Russia to preserve their national character and the consciousness of their unity.

Although the Russia of the eleventh and twelfth centuries took the essential elements of her civilization from Byzantium and recognized, in ecclesiastical matters, the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, she nevertheless remained in permanent and very close relationship with the West. The breach between Rome and the Eastern Church was not quite completed at the time of the conversion of St. Vladimir, and when it

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

became a *fait accompli* (in 1054) its repercussions in Russia were at first very small.

Before as after, the Russian princes maintained the most intimate relations with the Western courts to which they are bound by marriages. One cannot detect any trace of enmity towards the Western Christians. Quite on the contrary the Igumen Daniel, who goes from Kiev to Jerusalem to pray on the tomb of our Saviour, feels himself fraternally connected with the Francian crusaders who are fighting in the Holy Land. In Kiev itself there are Latin monasteries and the Russian princes make donations to them. The hour has not yet arrived when the aggressive attitude of the western neighbours of Russia will arouse her enmity.

The relations which, at this epoch, existed between Russia and the West were all the more natural as their way of living had many features in common. The princely courts of Russia, with their *drouzhina* (their retainers), their military character cemented by the personal loyalty towards their overlord, their love of feasts, the songs, accompanied by the sound of the *gouslis* and by characteristic gestures, and their chivalrous idealism, all this brought them near to those of the West.

On the other hand, also like the mediæval kingdoms of the West, the Russia of Kiev, although united under St. Vladimir and Yaroslav the Wise, is still far from being a fully united State, such as had existed in Byzantium and as we know it to-day.

Under the protecting power of a prince, who kept outside enemies at bay and maintained order in the interior, the country is composed of a federation of lands and cities who have their rights and privileges and are ruled by their elders and by their popular assemblies, the *vetchi*, which deal directly with the

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CHAPTER III

THE LITERARY, INTELLECTUAL, AND ARTISTIC UKRAINE

IT becomes apparent from the preceding chapters that the influences of the western neighbours, due to the geographical position and to historic development, have always been more pronounced in the Ukraine than in Northern Russia. We also find Polish and even German influences in the Ukrainian language, literature, folk-lore, and art, which had developed on the foundation of the old indivisible mediæval Russia.

The Ukrainian idiom belongs to the Russian family and even to the Eastern Slavonic family, which is almost the same thing. One of the most characteristic features which distinguish all the Russian idioms and the literary Russian language from other Slav languages, both western and southern, is the appearance of a new vowel between two or more consonants. For example, *gorod* (town) instead of *grad*, *molod* (young) instead of *mlad*, is constantly met with in Ukrainian. One could even say that it is Ukrainian which has encouraged this evolution, which was somewhat retarded in literary Russian by the stronger influences of old Slavonic.

Certain grammatical peculiarities of old Russian, greatly simplified in Great Russian, have been preserved in Ukrainian, such as the 'i' at the end of the infinitive. For example, to give *davat'* in Russian, *davati* in Ukrainian. There are also some peculiarities in the pronunciation. It seems that the 'g' was pronounced as an 'h' in old Russian, very strongly exhaled in the

197 Ukrainians, the German and Austrian authorities had to use Russian interpreters instead of Ukrainian ones from Galicia. Trained at the Ukrainian University of Lvov, founded by the Austrian Government, and belonging to another religion, being 'uniats' and non-Orthodox, the Galician men of letters, scientists and politicians who invaded the Ukraine after the Revolution of 1917, appeared as foreigners to the native population.

538 In popular Ukrainian poetry one finds no trace of the epic poem of the Russia of Kiev, of which the 'Tales of the Companions of Igor,' written in a language which was still very close to old Slavonic, is a magnificent example. The epic songs of the flourishing epoch of the State of Kiev, still bearing traces of the mixture of Christian and remnants of old pagan conceptions, have been perpetuated far into the north. They are the *byliny*, songs of St. Vladimir and his companions, which were accompanied by some acting, and which the popular *skazitels* still sing in the most distant North Russian lands in the forests on the shore of the White Sea. In the Ukraine a popular epic poetry of a new kind, based on subjects which have not been published, has appeared, inspired by the Cossack struggles. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have left us a few examples.

This poetry is highly lyrical, noble, and melancholy and has developed especially in the following century. It still lives to our days, known under the name of '*doumy*.' Although it speaks of epic deeds, this poetry is profoundly distinguished by that lyricism which characterizes the whole popular Ukrainian poetic art.

[533] 177 Like all the languages of the Russian family, Ukrainian adapts itself wonderfully to song. It is the Ukraine which has taught the whole of Russia the polyphonic song, which even penetrated to the remotest corners of the Russian land. It is possible that this song itself was early influenced in the Ukraine by certain elements of Western music.

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first Russian revolution, that of 1905, one realized at St. Petersburg and began to understand that this movement was not in itself a danger to the unity of the empire. The Governor-General of Kiev, Kleigels, in a good position to judge it, explained it in precisely this sense in his reports to the Imperial Government. But at the same time the Tsarist police, generally very well informed of everything which concerned it, was convinced that the Ukrainian *separatism* was but a weapon of the Austrians; it considered, moreover, that its success in Russia was almost insignificant.

Among the other expressions of the cultural life of the Ukraine, western influences have been particularly strong in the artistic domain and especially in architecture and in decorative art.

The architecture of Kiev, at the period when it flourished most, had above all been a simple branch of byzantine art, transplanted without any modification to Russia. In the north, however, architectural art, although of byzantine inspiration, soon developed original forms of a purely national character.

Kiev, close to Byzantium, was too profoundly impressed by the splendours of Constantinople to be quite independent of them. The celebrated historian of Russian art, Grabar, notes that at the end of the twelfth century architects from Novgorod were invited to Kiev in order to replace the Greek masters by native Russians and to build churches and palaces in the national style. The people of Kiev were amazed by it.

Besides the more important assimilation in the north, the style of religious architecture (the only which was of importance in the old Russia) was quite similar throughout the whole extent of the old Slav-Norse State.

Later, when the centre of gravity of Southern Russia was moved towards the west to the lands of Galicia and

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177 341 [531] Volynia, Western influences became more pronounced. Even at Kiev we find churches in the gothic style, modified, however, by national and above all by byzantine traditions. A salient feature of byzantine art especially survives. These are the magnificent frescoes, in which this art excels as does, too, the art of the old Russia of Kiev.

During the sixteenth century the influences of the Renaissance were already felt in Galicia, which was still at this epoch the principal centre of Southern Russia. But they were soon supplanted by those of the baroque, which, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, leaves its mark on the whole Ukrainian architecture. It forced the traditional forms of Russian architecture of the byzantine type to recede more and more, to a point at which Grabar asks himself if the Ukrainian art had not undergone a complete denationalization.

Nevertheless a peculiarity belonging to the whole of Russia was responsible for a revival of the national style: the old Russia, a land of forests, overlooked any other constructional material but wood. That which is built of stone obviously cannot be built in the same way as wood. Thus there developed in the Ukraine the special baroque style of the wooden churches, just as the original 'gothic' style in wood had appeared in the north. This exquisite style was most probably created without any Western influences.

The wooden churches not only protected the Ukrainian art from complete denationalization, but their original and national style began to fuse little by little even into the baroque architecture in stone. At the end of the seventeenth century, and in the first years of the eighteenth, this baroque, called 'Cossack,' was almost exclusive to the Ukraine.

In the eighteenth century the 'Cossack baroque' loses itself in the magnificent bloom of the Imperial

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Russian baroque. At the end of the century it is replaced by an equally imperial rococo. The churches built in Kiev by Rastrelli clearly cannot be considered monuments of Ukrainian art. The empire style, originally transformed in Russia into the so-called 'Alexander' style, afterwards dominates in Kiev as in St. Petersburg.

As much as the old Ukrainian architecture has certainly contributed to the later development of the imperial baroque, Ukrainian painting, open to all the Western influences from the seventeenth century onwards, has played a very important part in the development of modern Russian painting. Here the Western influences were often transmitted through the Ukraine and were assimilated there before dissolving in the civilization of the empire. The Ukrainian portraitists Levitsky, Borovsky, and Venetzianov, working at St. Petersburg, had a strong influence on Russian portraitism.

It was also the painter Lossenko and the sculptors Kozlovski and Martos, equally Ukrainians, taught by the Academy of Arts of St. Petersburg, who illustrated the century of Catherine II with their works.

The national originality was also maintained in the popular art, especially in iconography, thanks to the deep traditionalism of the Russian Orthodox Church. Nevertheless Ukrainian iconography had lost much of its austerity in comparison with that of Northern Russia, under the influence of that levelling which came from Poland.

Eastern influences still make themselves felt in the popular art, in the taste for richness of ornamentation, and in the magnificence of colours. Embroideries, tapestries, jewellery, glassware, crockery, and sculptures in wood witness the rich artistic aptitudes of the Ukrainian people and have the just reputation of their value both in Russia and in the whole of Central Europe.

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148 The Minister of the Reich at Kiev, Muhm, a subtler man, expressed himself differently though in the same sense: 'I am convinced that it is necessary to maintain the fiction of a friendly independent country in the Ukraine. . . . We shall completely destroy the little authority which remains with the Ukrainian Government if we were to show too coarsely that it is only a toy in our hands.'

191 177 Disarmed, enslaved by the great force of the army of the central empires, the Ukraine[1] was not in the position of an independent State. The Ukrainian language, imported from Galicia, was not spoken in the country. Only official documents and administrative notices were written in Ukrainian. Not a single private business ever used this language either for correspondence or advertising. In the schools and universities Russian continued to be used. The circulation of newspapers in the Ukrainian language was very small, while the Russian papers which agreed not to carry on open propaganda against the troops of occupation appeared everywhere and were actually the only ones read by the population.

727 642 The Ukrainian Government, composed of politicians having absolutely no administrative experience, soon proved to be incapable of organizing the supply of grain as promised to the armies of the central empires. The Germans then decided to change the regime. The organizations of landowners, small and big, which supplied corn and other agricultural produce to the forces of occupation, were favoured by the Austro-German authorities. It is unnecessary to point out that no Ukrainian political idea influenced the creation of these organizations. The Germans selected their association, known under the name of '*Zyizd Khliborobiv*,[1]

[1] '*Khliborobiv*' means farmers in Ukrainian. '*Zyizd Khliborobiv*' means association of farmers.

[1] [i.e. in 1919. --- Analyst]

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

An important group of Ukrainian politicians, who had formerly supported Petlioura, joined the Bolshevik cause after his defeat. The Soviet Government inaugurated a policy of Ukrainization from the beginning in order to satisfy their ambitions and to show the world their nationalistic Liberalism. But, as under Petlioura, it was a superficial one and never penetrated in fact either into the private life of the citizens or into the sphere of education, or even into the administration.

Although Ukrainian had become the official language, nobody used it and correspondence between official institutions continued, with rare exceptions, in Russian. One of the authors of this book, who held an administrative post in a Soviet enterprise in the Ukraine from 1921 to 1924, had never written a single word in Ukrainian and had never been prosecuted for this defection. It is not because the word 'Odessa' is now written with one 's' instead of two and the word '*plochtchad*' (in Russian a town square) is to-day replaced by the word '*maidan*,' that the Ukraine has ceased to be Russia.

The policy of Ukrainization continued without great changes and in spite of the lack of common sense until 1927, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party suddenly decided to introduce the Russian language as the second official language. One can explain this sudden change by the development of separatist anti-Soviet propaganda, undertaken by secret organizations, formed under the protection of Poland. There occurred in the Ukraine the first wave of purification which was directed against the 'Nationalistic Chauvinists,' accused of spiritual connection with Galician 'counter-revolutionary' elements, which had been affected by the propaganda of Polish 'Fascists.'

The people's commissar for education of the Ukraine,

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

661 Choumsky, and a group of his friends had opposed this policy of the Central Government. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine accused Choumsky himself of 'spiritual connection' with the counter-revolutionaries of the Polish Ukraine and especially with the U.N.D.O., the most important among the Ukrainian political parties in Galicia and working under Polish influence. At that period one still didn't shoot Soviet Ministers. But Choumsky was forced to leave the Ukraine and to accept a small administrative post in Moscow.

186 177 To regain the initiative in the Ukrainian question, the Executive Committee of the Comintern passed a resolution in November 1927 directing the Communist Party in the Polish Ukraine to struggle resolutely for the separation of this country from Poland and for its re-inclusion in the Soviet Ukraine.

On the other hand the inauguration of the first five-year plan, which strengthened the economic ties between the Ukraine and the rest of the Soviet Union, and the creation of the Red Army on a basis of discipline and of modern military science, made the use of Russian necessary throughout the whole Soviet territory.

669 This pro-Russian tendency did not last long. The forced collectivization of the land, undertaken in execution of the five-year plan, turned the Ukrainian peasantry against the Soviet Government. This resistance soon changed into a kind of civil war and became underlined by hundreds of thousands of deportations, by thousands of executions, and by a terrible famine.[1]

The resistance to collectivization, which was incompatible with the spirit and the vital interests of the

[1] See the work of Calvin B. Hoover: *Economic Life in Soviet Russia*, M.R.S., Paris, 1934, in which many pages are given to the question of collectivization.

tion of the Kievan State, where the Prince was only a servant of the state and had to reckon with the will of his subjects, — knights and townsmen ('viche'), in Muscovy there was not the slightest trace. The Government of the Princes of Moscow imitated the despotic system of the Tartar 'Golden Horde'. Some Russian historians reject the legend of the taking over of the Kievan traditions by Moscow, and point out the peculiarity of the social and political order of the Muscovite state*). The Princes of Moscow did not tolerate the existence of the Republic of Great Novgorod on the Volkhov River at the side of their despotic state, and after having conquered that country they destroyed by bloody terror the freedom of the Republic of Novgorod (end of 15th century). The liberal traditions of Great Novgorod were definitely wiped out in 1570 by Tsar Ivan the Terrible, who carried out a cruel massacre in this city, and deported a great part of the population to the East. The Muscovite State, which had grown under the protectorate of the Tartar Khans, created a political and social order of its own, after the pattern of the eastern despotisms. 175

In an article published in the *Review of Politics* (July 1948) the well known American historian Hans Kohn says that the state of the Princes of Kiev, i. e. Ukraine, "looked toward Byzantium, whence it received its Church and toward Scandinavia, from where its dynasty came. When Kiev succumbed to the Mongol invasion, modern Russia was created by the will of the ruthless cunning of the great princes around Moscow. [171]

The new capital grew up, . . ., far from the old cultural centres to the west, on recently colonial land where traditional urban liberties were unknown. Its people were no longer the Slavs of the Dnieper but a new race in which Slav, Finnish, and Mongol blood freely intermingled. From Moscow, no roads led to the West, the rivers pointed to the steppes and deserts of Asia; the political, cultural, and economic ties were with the great empire of the Tartars to whom it was tributary." [144]

The oriental despotic features of the political and economic order of the Muscovite State gave the central government a tremendous power that was used for the enslavement of all social classes and for the seclusion of the Muscovite people from Western Europe. Until the end of the 17th century the Government of the Tsars did not permit its subjects to visit the countries of Western Europe and tried to prevent foreigners from entering their country. The Tsar

*) Prof. Presnyakov, *The Creation of the Great-Russian State:* Moscow 1918; various works of the historians Lyubavsky, Miliukov and others.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

frontier. After the proclamation of religious toleration in 1905, about 200,000 Ukrainians immediately declared themselves Uniats, so that the Russian Government soon found it necessary to restrict the scope of the proclamation. Though the Uniats in Russia were forbidden to join the Catholic Church, many of them became Catholics or sectaries. The last Russian persecution of the Uniat Church took place during the Russian occupation of Galicia in 1915, when the Russian bishop, Eulogius, started a regular campaign to replace Uniat priests by Orthodox clergy, and Uniat Ukrainian by Russian Orthodox schools. Many Uniat priests were banished to Siberia; and the Uniat Metropolitan, Szeptycki, was exiled to a Russian monastic prison. It is uncertain whether the Uniat Church has been gaining ground outside the provinces of Cholm and Polesia. As no statistics have been taken in Russia since the decree of religious toleration in 1905, it is difficult to give a correct estimate of the number of members of the Russian Orthodox Church, but their percentage varies from 75 to 93 in the various Governments of the Russian Ukraine. The Great-Russian sect of the *Raskolniki* (Old Believers) found refuge in the Governments of Kharkov (0·1 per cent. of the population) and Chernigov (0·9 per cent.).

The number of Roman Catholics, chiefly Poles, is higher in the west (in Volhynia the Poles in 1897 formed 6·16 per cent. of the population), but they are only slightly more numerous than the Lutheran Protestants (in Volhynia 5·73 of the population), who are German colonists.

Of great social importance are the peasant sects, of which the chief in the Ukraine is the *Shtunda* (from *Stunde*, since they gather at a definite hour). The doctrines of this Lutheran sect, which originated in Württemberg in 1705, were brought to South Russia by the Württemberg merchants, as the Danzig merchants, who came here after the partitions of Poland, brought with them the teaching of the Mennonite sect. Since 1870 it has been oppressed officially by the Russian

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

172 In the primary schools only Russian was taught until recently, but in those kept by the *zemstvos* and Ukrainian societies Ukrainian is now also taught. In the secondary schools, which exist only in the larger towns, French and German instruction is given. In the German colonies there are German local schools (private), mostly primary. In the large towns of the western Ukraine and in the Polish colonies and on the large estates there are Polish private schools, which have been officially recognized since 1905. It is impossible to estimate the number of Ukrainians who went to universities, because many of them went to Russian universities outside the Ukraine or to foreign universities; but they can only have been a small percentage of the total number of literates.

The majority of the newspapers in the Ukraine were Russian. Each Government and each district had its own *Viedomosti*; and there were many Russian papers in Kiev. There were fewer Polish papers, chiefly in Kiev and the western Ukraine. The Germans had local papers in their colonies. The Ukrainians had, up to 1917, some eighteen newspapers, but some of them were printed abroad. In Kiev there were twelve Ukrainian papers, the most popular of which, *Rada*, was started in 1906; in Mohilev one, in Kharkov one, in Yekaterinoslav one, in Moscow one. One of the earliest Ukrainian papers printed abroad was the *Ruthenische Revue*, subsequently called *Ukrainische Rundschau*, started in 1903 in Vienna. This list does not include the Ukrainian newspapers printed in Eastern Galicia in a slightly different language and character.

(C) Political

●171 Political conditions in the Ukraine were very much like those in other parts of the Russian Empire, except for special restrictions aiming at russification, e. g. the refusal to appoint the inhabitants of non-Russian districts to important Government positions. But the russification was not so thorough as in Finland

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

or Poland, because before 1905 opposition to the Russian Government was less marked. Besides, many Russian Liberals, even of official position, treated the Ukrainian movement as an interesting variation of Russian life.

(D) Social

The class divisions into titled aristocracy, nobles, townsmen, merchants, and peasants, existed as in other parts of the Russian Empire, but, roughly speaking, a different ethnic element corresponded to each social division. The titled aristocracy was mainly Polish in the western parts (with the name Polish Ukrainians) and Russian in the eastern. With but few exceptions, the same could be said of the class of landed nobles, in which the Great Russians formed the majority; Poles, Germans and others were the minority. The Ukrainian landed noble was almost unknown; and the townsmen of the large towns were also in a great majority non-Ukrainian, being chiefly Great Russians and Jews (in Berdichev the Jews form 78·4 per cent. of the population; in Yekaterinoslav, 40 per cent.), and, in the western Ukraine, Russian, Polish, German, Greek, &c. The Jews were mainly traders and shopkeepers, while the Great Russians and the foreigners were manufacturers.

But few of the Ukrainian *intelligentsia* took part in the industrial life of the country, about one-third of them belonging to the professional classes, i. e. doctors, Government officials, lawyers, and teachers. The Ukrainian professional classes originated from the ex-Cossacks and the townsmen rather than from the peasants, since there is a great distinction between the peasants and other members of the community. The Ukrainian nobles, it must be remembered, have in most cases become russified, and partly also polonized. The distinction between the peasant and other classes is not based on economic grounds, for some peasants in the Ukraine are very rich. It lies chiefly in their cultural condition, in their education, or rather lack

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

of education, and in their occupations. The bulk (86·4 per cent.) of the Ukrainians are peasants and agriculturists. The percentage of people living in the country is in the Government of Kharkov, 85; in Poltava, 89; Yekaterinoslav, 88; Chernigov, 91; Taurida, 80; Kherson, 70. The percentage of peasants is almost the same, e. g. Kharkov, 90; Poltava, 89; Yekaterinoslav, 87; Chernigov, 86; Taurida, 73; Kherson, 61. The average increase in population is higher than in any other province in European Russia; consequently, though many peasants have become, during the last twenty-five years, workmen in the newly started industries, the general number of agricultural peasants remains unchanged.

Land Tenure[1].—While Great Russia is at present a country of communal land-ownership (*mir*), in the Ukraine or Little Russia individual or, strictly speaking, family ownership and communal ownership exist together (cf. p. 78). The *mir* in Great Russia appears to have been introduced in the sixteenth century, when the Moscow Government established serfdom and imposed heavy taxation, for it was easier to make the whole village responsible for the taxes than the separate families. However, in the north or, properly speaking, Novgorod Russ. the land, as a general rule, belonged to one large family or clan, composed of from two to six houses (the owners of which bore the same name), and called *pyechishche* (large stove). The ownership was hereditary, and hence the land became more and more subdivided, so that families owned more or less according to the number of children. There was no readjustment of the land as in the case of the *mir*. The *pyechishche* of Novgorod was known in Kiev-Russ as *ognishche* (meaning a large fire); and the term *ognishchanin* (meaning a member of the *ognishche*) is found in the Kiev law (*Russkaya Pravda*). Connected with that form of tenure is a custom, which even now is found sometimes in the Ukraine, of minorate, according to which the younger

[1] See also p. 77.

[Ruthenia]

648 the "Camp of National Unity", General Skwarszynski, said in the Sejm: /the Polish parliament/ "... The common boundary with Hungary as a Danubian state and as a people traditionally friendly to us, corresponds not only to our feelings, but also to our interests. Therefore Hungary's aim to /84/ obtain Carpatho-Ukraine must be energetically supported by our foreign policy." The 186 speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament Mudryj protest- 648 ed against this Polish policy at the same meeting: "We must not forget that the Ukrainian people, on the basis of common blood, common tradition and a common spirit feels itself to be a unified national organism, regardless of what state it lives in and under what governments it falls. No power will crush this feeling of national unity." (48)

48. "Osteuropa", January issue, 1931, page 260.

When Mudryj referred to the devastation caused by the "diversional detachments" in Carpatho-Ukraine, he was silenced.

000 Poland had a bad conscience. The Carpatho-Ukrainian question, unimportant though it was, made it nervous. The great power grew unsure of itself and from old habit tried to set force against the right to live. According to the Polish political thesis only "another dialect" is to separate the Ukrainians from the Poles. If one took away their Greek Orthodox religion and their Cryillic script, they would differ from the Poles merely by reason of their dialect.

• 177 However, the Ukrainians have changed tremendously since the days when Emperor Joseph II said, at the end of his journey through Galicia, which was freed after hundreds of years of Polish domination: "The peasant is an unfortunate creature possessing nothing but a human exterior and physical life." In the 150 years that Vienna was their capital, the Ukrainians experienced an ex-

1 [i.e., 1933-37, to aid Hungary to obtain Carpatho-Ukraine - Ed., JF]

[Ruthenia]

177 traodrinary national, economic and cultural advance, and the war of liberation from 1918 to 1919 became indelibly fixed in their national consciousness. Volhynia, too, awakened as a nation.

186 648 N wonder, then, that after a mock autonomy was granted by the Polish parliament on September 22, 1922 - in accordance with the request of the Supreme Council of June 25, 1919 - and after the conference of the Parisian emissary /85/ of March 15, 1923, which adjudicated Galicia to the Poles, no wonder that the Ukrainians in Poland have continued to fight against Warsaw's rule with other means. The Ukrainians are helpless against drastic measures such as the introduction of Polish civilian administration or the closing of Ukrainian schools. They suffer national losses especially in the parcelling of large estates, which brings new Polish settlers into the overpopulated country and which leaves the Ukrainian small farmer out in the cold. The Poles have already succeeded in pushing back the western Ukrainian boundary by about thirty kilometers; they are successfully Polonizing Polesia where, because of the extreme backwardness and poverty of the inhabitants, hunger is a stronger motivating power than anything else. In 1905 the Ukrainians already lost 250,000 citizens in Lublin, which was then Russian, and which, after the first World War, became Polish. These people who were forcibly converted to the orthodox faith in 1870 went over to the Roman Catholic Church 35 years later; for their return to the Greek Catholic Church to which they had belonged before that was denied them. But becoming Roman Catholic means becoming Polonized. Once the Polish clergyman has set foot in a town, he is soon followed by the teacher, Polish societies are founded and the village is isolated from the Ukrainian neighborhood as from the area of infection.

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Are there. No time remains for God.
There pain and sorrow
Spent my mother's strength
And drove her, young, into the grave...
And helplessly among his brood -
For we were naked then and young -
My father worked himself to death
And died a slave...And we, orphaned now,
Abandoned our little hut
And moved away..." (54)

54. Quoted from Ukrainian Literature in the Service of its Nation, page 8.

538 Taras Shevchenko is the author of this poem. With him begins a new period of progress for the Ukrainian people after the end of Cossack glory and the period of greatest decline. One of the first to lay the foundation for this development which has not yet ceased, is Ivan Kotliarevskyj with whom begins the period of modern Ukrainian literature freed from Byzantinism and religion bonds. /101/ This was toward the end of the eighteenth century. His travesty of Virgil's Aeneid appeared in 1798 and was the first work to be printed in the Ukrainian popular tongue which from then on becomes the literary language of the Ukrainians. In 1818 the first grammar follows. Around this time the ideas of the German Romanticists also come in and enduringly influence the Ukrainian intellectual world. People study their native language, tradition, folklore and history and in doing so, discover a past whose richness was scarcely imagined.

[177]

But the national impulses of the Ukrainian romanticists remain a "melancholy national feeling" until, around 1840, Taras Shevchenko stirs up the slumbering spirits. "The song of this poet had truly the effect of the resurrection trumpet of the archangel." Thus Panyko Kulish, the versatile brain of the Ukrainian in-

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Untold hosts of hirelings.
And tears? Blood? Verily enough
To sate all czars,
To drown them and their progeny
In widows' tears... The tears of maidens
Shed throughout full nights of longing,
The burning pain of mothers' tears,
Our hoary fathers' tears of blood
No stream could hold, - ah no,
A sea, a fiery sea!... Oh honor
To all dogs and tyrants
And to the Czar, our little father."(55)

55. "Taras Shevchenko" in Beiträge zur Ukrainekunde, Number 6, Berlin 1937.

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The political concept of an "indivisible Russia" suggests the suppression of all Ukrainian movements toward independence, even if they be merely of a cultural nature. In accordance with this, and on the basis of the principle followed by the Russian Minister of Education Valuiev: "There is no separate Little Russian language, there never was and never can be", Moscow issued a general printed statement prohibiting all /103/ Ukrainian writings. Ukrainian culture which is 700 years older than the Muscovite culture based on it was simply declared invalid. Belletristic works by Ukrainian pens may appear only in Russian spelling. All writing was sharply censured, concerts, lectures and theatrical performances were forbidden. Later the theatrical prohibition was relaxed a bit, but for each Ukrainian play a Russian one of equal length had to be performed. Since members of the higher classes would be unrefined if they spoke Ukrainian, actors portraying persons from cultivated circles has to speak only Russian even to Ukrainian plays.

517 While the Ukrainian language was being banned from Kiyev, a new flowering of Ukrainian culture was beginning in the West Ukrainian metropolis [741] of Lwów. In 1873 Ukrainian men of learning founded the "Scientific Shevchenko Society", a free academy. The number of Ukrainian chairs at the University grew. Now that all scholarly activity in the Ukrainian language was curtailed in East Ukraine, professors and writers transferred their field of activity to Lwów where a number of different cultural organizations arose. Kiyev as the intellectual hub of all Ukraine was outstripped by Lwów, in fact, even by Czernovits /now Chernovtsy/. Each of these two cities published more than one hundred Ukrainian works in 1894, whereas Kiyev published only ten works of so-called "literature for the home".

•177 The revolution of 1905 only temporarily eased the pressure on Ukrainian cultural life. Freedom of the press and freedom of assembly remained only promises, and the "unity and indivisibility" of the Russian people was nothing but lifeless dogma until in 1917 its defenders were swept away by the seceding peoples.

517 Despite all difficulties, Lwów remained the 668 cultural center of West Ukraine even after the [741] first World War. Its focal point was the "Scientific /104/ Shevchenko Society" which published its own periodicals and scholarly works. The spiritual trend of West Ukrainian intellectuals, in so far as they were not obliged to emigrate, was directed against traditional sentimentality. Young people were reared to think politically, to be ready for action and for dedication. In accordance with the political aims, the subject matter of present-day West Ukrainian literature shows a preference for the re-awakening of the Ukrainian people, for the heroic struggles of the last few decades, and for the heroic in the Ukrainian landscape.

87/ were established in Kiyev, Khar'kov, Odessa and Dnepropetrovsk.

No research is being carried on either in the institutes or the technical schools or the universities; they are all purely teaching institutions. There are special institutes, so-called research chairs, for research which can be carried on only within the framework of historical materialism. "The researcher is advised to limit his activity to collecting and systematizing material and to avoid drawing conclusions." (70) Since

70. Zalozieckij: Ibid., page 31.

there is only one publisher, the state, scientists often have difficulty publishing their works at all. Thus they often have no choice but to have individual studies lithographed and published in a collected edition of 50 to 100 copies. The students for their part have other worries: they live mostly in dormitories, usually very poorly. To a large extent they also lack the necessary educational equipment.

177 190 The Russianization of the Ukrainian language is part of the nationality fight between Russians and Ukrainians. Forgotten is the time when the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the year 1905 emphatically pointed out that the Russian and the Ukrainian language were separate languages. According to the opinion expressed at that time, the Russian literary language should not be imposed upon the Ukrainians, since they have at their disposal a "completely /125/ developed literary language of their own". In 1933 the State Publishing House of Moscow issued textbooks for Ukrainian schools in the new "unified" language. "Unification" means reintroduction of numerous Russian words with Ukrainian endings; it also means the use of Russian phrases which are completely foreign to the Ukrainian language. If a teacher should object to this corruption of the mother tongue of his pupils or not use it, there would be

177 sufficient grounds to deal with him in summary pro-
197 ceeding as a "separatist". Pravda of October 16, 1937 even accuses non-Russian students of "mutilating the great Russian language with all kinds of local linguistic rubbish".

The Russian State Publishing House in Moscow is playing a leading role in the language fight. Of 20 monographs which were published up to midsummer 1939 as a result of the great Shevchenko celebrations, no less than 16 were written in Russian and only 4 in the Ukrainian language.

Finally, a favorite method of Russianization is the granting of prizes, free journeys, and privileged places of work and study to young Ukrainians.

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665 Young people are supposed to spend their
883 leisure time in the Party organizations of the
867 "Yellow Bills", the "Pioneers" and with the
857 "Communistic Socialistic Youth" (Komsomol). /This is an erroneous reading of the Soviet abbreviation of Komministicheski Soiuz Molodiozh; which means Communist League of Young People. Editor/ There they are divided up into "groups of various interests" where they "can develop and satisfy their most urgent needs". There are those interested in the theater, music, sports, politics, the army and similar things. "From the outposts, from groups, from the clubs, from schools, the young people of talent come into the guardianship of the Pioneers every day, every evening, and there they develop, for they are under the supervision of experts..." (71) What "urgent needs" means is

71: M. Furman: Activity and Life of the Pioneers in the Ukraine.

explained by the Kiyev Visti of March 27, 1939, which says that the children conversation hours

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THE BRIDGE BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

101 The political boundary between Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia is not a clear-cut dividing line between two different worlds. There are a number of Ruthenian peasants in the eastern parts of Slovakia who form a gradual transition between the two neighbours. True, the Slovaks and the Ruthenians are two different Slav races. The Slovaks are closely related to the Moravians and Czechs in the West; the Ruthenians belong to the Russian family—mainly to its Ukrainian branch—although the thousand years of isolation from their kinsmen have had a specific effect on the character of the Ruthenian population on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. But there is a gradual link between the Slovaks and the Ruthenians, and Carpathian Ruthenia may aptly be described as a bridge between the Western and Eastern Slavs.

131 175 Geographically, too, the two neighbouring countries are similar. A chain of wooded mountains separates them from the kindred Slav populations to the North and North-East; while to the South both countries have stretches of fertile plain which run down unobstructed into the vast Danubian basin. That is the reason why both countries fell victim to Hungarian expansion early in their history and remained under Hungarian rule as second-rate provinces for a thousand years. Until the end of 1918, neither Slovakia nor Carpathian Ruthenia were on the map.

177 212 Both these countries suffered from the long alien domination which hampered their development. Slovakia was the more fortunate of the two because, in spite of her political separation from the independent lands of the Czech Crown, cultural and religious contacts with them had been maintained for centuries. But the Ruthenians received less support of this kind from their kindred beyond the Carpathians. As a result, Ruthenia was still more at the mercy of her Hungarian overlords and remained in a state of greater backwardness than her neighbour in the West. This is well illustrated by the degree of illiteracy in Ruthenia under the Hungarian regime which was, indeed, appalling; according to the last Hungarian census about three quarters of the Ruthenian population could not read or write.

177 181 Only people of considerable racial individuality could have resisted systematic denationalisation as the Ruthenians did. They may be a simple people; but their mode of living, their outlook and their character have an unmistakable stamp of their own.

They are a mountain people who cling to the place where they

they are a mountain people who clung to the place where they
177 were born. This applies even to those who, through force of circum-
181 stances, had to leave their native village to earn their living elsewhere.
167 Some have found occupation in the fertile South; but when they have saved some money they want to return home and are prepared to pay a higher price for a few poor fields, although in the valleys of the South they could buy much better land for the same amount. Hundreds of thousands have emigrated to America, where about as many Ruthenians can be found as have remained in the homeland under the Carpathians. Yet many long to come back home to find their last resting place in the native soil.

137 The peculiar beauty of this forgotten country has a strong grip
313 on her simple sons. The Ruthenian Carpathians are not so high as the Slovak peaks, but the vast stretches of dense forest, which cover almost half of Ruthenia, give the country a more primeval appearance. Some of the woods and slopes are delightful idylls, where the fresh and fragrant air is full of hum and rustle and warble. But in many parts, unchartered and untouched by human hand, the forest is sombre. Trees felled by storm or gale lie dead where they have fallen, and there is a smell of rotting wood in this lonely wilderness. Wild boar, wolf, lynx and bear have their hunting ground here, while above the tops of the mighty pines, firs, oaks and maples, circle the eagle and the hawk. Other parts of the forest are enlivened by the rhythmical sound of the axe cutting down trees to be floated down the rushing mountain streams. A large proportion of the hardy Ruthenians earn their living in this way. But above this expanse of deep forest are the sunlit pastures and upland meadows sprinkled with gentian, buttercups, pansies, chrysanthemums and geraniums. Sheep and cattle graze here during the summer months; Ruthenia is also a country of shepherds, who blow their huge horns at night to gather the scattered herds.

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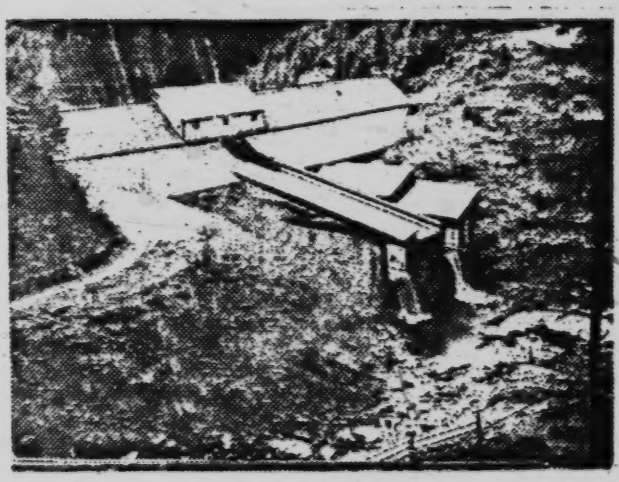

Wooden dam in Ruthenia

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

292 Mountainous Ruthenia is a country of traditional costumes. The
531 beautiful embroideries which decorate them and their colour-effects testify to the innate artistic sense of the people. Their patterns and hues vary not only from tribe to tribe but also from village to village. Blue, brown and red are their favourite colours, but one may say that practically all the colours are represented. On weekdays their attire is rather simple. But on Sundays and festivals the space in front of the wooden church is a veritable kaleidoscope of well-blended hues. Particularly striking is the garb of the Huculs whose artistic talent also shows in their elaborate wood-carvings and in their love of music.

609 Life is hard in the mountains and forests of Carpathian Ruthenia.
574 Yet the small farmers, wood-cutters, labourers and shepherds who live there are a friendly and hospitable race. The traditional rule that a stranger who comes into a Ruthenian cottage is to be hospitably received has found a remarkable illustration in recent times. The inhabitants of one village in the South have decided that the passengers on the bus which passes through the village once a day have to be treated as guests. And so whenever the bus arrives a peasant woman with a basket full of fruit or cheese or buns is waiting at the stop to share out her eatables among the travellers.

177 In the southern part of the country life and people are different.
471 Here one comes across fields of maize, wheat and tobacco, while on the sunny hills bordering on the fertile plain further south there are rich
563 vineyards. But most of this good soil is not the property of the
464 Ruthenians; they have been pushed into the mountains by the Hun-
241 garians who owe much of the land and employ the native Ruthenians as seasonal labourers. In this part of the country the population is mixed, and the Ruthenians who live here have surrendered much of their racial individuality as well as the traditional costumes. No wonder that those uplanders who moved south for economic reasons long to return to their poor but proud mountains.

369 Carpathian Ruthenia is a rural country. Even its largest towns,
655 such as Mukačevo with a State tobacco factory and other works, Berehovo, the centre of the Ruthenian wine trade, Sevljuš with excellent
438 vineyards, are essentially provincial in character.

The largest town, Užhorod, has assumed the character of a modern
361 city since it became the capital of Carpathian Ruthenia during the
341 twenty years of the Czechoslovak Republic. The government built here imposing public buildings as well as large blocks of up-to-date residential flats for its civil servants. Prominent among these representative buildings is Zemský Úrad housing the headquarters of the administration of Carpathian Ruthenia; its façade is strictly modern and its interior, particularly the Parliament Chamber and the large Reception Hall, is beautifully equipped.

This part of Užhorod is well laid out; right along the river bank

orientation. Khvylovy considered that Ukrainian literature should go its own way and look towards Western Europe, no matter whether bourgeois or proletarian. Shumsky advocated that the Ukrainian Communist Party should be independent of the Russian Communist Party. 665 186

This crisis within the Ukrainian Communist Party prompted the Moscow Bolshevik leadership in 1926 to make one of Stalin's principal assistants, L. M. Kaganovich, Ukrainian party secretary for a short period during which the first great purge against the nationalist deviation was carried out. Khvylovy was ejected from the party and Shumsky expelled from the territory of the Ukrainian S.S.R. When Khvylovy repented he was given another chance and re-admitted as a party member, but in 1933 he committed suicide after a new campaign against Ukrainian nationalism had been launched. 661 665 186

Admittedly the methods of repression in the Ukraine were comparatively liberal until 1929-30. From that time onwards the oppressive policy of the Soviet State overshadowed in the minds of the Ukrainian nationalists in the U.S.S.R. the contribution which Polish, Rumanian and Czech communists were ready to make for the establishment of a Greater Soviet Ukraine. Many Ukrainian nationalists became convinced that national unity was less vital to the Ukrainians than cultural and political freedom, in particular that free intercourse with the West which Moscow was unwilling to grant. [177]

The Soviet State inflicted many heavy blows on the representatives of the western orientation among the Ukrainians, but never vanquished it entirely. In this struggle Ukrainian nationalism commanded an almost inexhaustible reservoir of resistance forces. Bloodshed and terror seemed incapable of stamping out the longing for spiritual freedom. Almost every year brought the discovery of a new conspiracy, a new series of trials, a new trend in national Ukrainian deviations. In 1929 the G.P.U. discovered the 'Spilka Vyzvolenia Ukrainy', the 'Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine', in 1931 the 'Ukrainian National Centre', in 1933 the 'Ukrainian Military Organization' (UVO). 668 661

The offensive by the central Government against the Ukraine's trends towards a more independent existence was conducted not only in the political sphere but also in the field of culture, where the régime had originally granted some scope to Ukrainian nationalism. One of the main bulwarks of Ukrainian nationalism was the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The history section of the Academy had turned out to be so anti-Bolshevik that it had to be disbanded altogether while its head, Professor Hrushevsky, was exiled to Russia proper. This banishment of the 'great old man' of Ukrainian nationalism from his place of work showed better than anything else that the policy of reconciliation which Moscow had originally pursued in its relation towards Ukrainian nationalism had been but a short-term manœuvre. [814]

*[Cf. category 665, p. 130 --Analyst]

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The Different Areas of Ukraine, their Nationality and Political Position

642 177 ●,64 Let us review briefly the political development in the various areas of Ukraine between the two World Wars. Ukrainians within the Soviet Union were mainly distributed, as we have seen, between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) where they had no national rights, and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. By the constitution of July 6th, 1923, Soviet Ukraine is a member of the USSR which adjoined "voluntarily as a member of the union with the formal right to leave it when it likes".

The constitution of Soviet Ukraine was adjusted to that of the USSR. The Congress of Soviets, the Central Executive and its president are the supreme organs of authority. The Council of Commissaries functioned as the Executive Body and it was subject to the authority of the Congress of Soviets and the Central Executive Committee. Three categories of members were comprised in the Council of Ukrainian People's Commissaries: 1. commissaries for agriculture, justice, internal affairs, education, health and social welfare, who acted on their own authority in the provinces under their jurisdiction; 2. "unified" commissaries who had to function according to instructions from the central government, and 3. delegates from the general commissariat of the Union, appointed by different central agencies and dependent on them.

The independence of the various federal republics mainly existed merely on paper, as representatives of the RSFSR were in the majority in the supreme agencies of the USSR. The decisive feature of the organisation was that the composition of all agencies throughout the USSR was regulated by the communist party, which filled all posts with its own members. It, too, was completely centralised and took its orders from the head office of the party in Moscow which it then implemented in the various republics. The expansion of the communist party's function and the limitation of the rights of the individual republics formed the foundation of the growth of the USSR from the very beginning. Numerous amendments to the constitution which

642 reached a climax in Stalin's Constitution of December 5th, 1936
177 helped to liquidate the idea of federation; the principles on which
●,64 the Soviet Union had been constituted in 1923 were denied, the rights of the federal republics being reduced to a minimum: only 4 Republican People's Commissariats remained (commissariat for education — minus universities; social welfare; local industry; communal management) and all other state functions now fell to the "unified" commissariats of the Central Government (now called unionist - republican). As the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities have, since 1936, been elected by direct and universal franchise, Russian influence gained the upper hand in these corporations, too. It is true that Stalin still recognised the right to leave the Union in principle, but at the same time he publicly stated: "It is obvious that we have no republics who would seriously entertain the idea of leaving the USSR"

While the Central Government was supreme, its relation to the Ukrainian state and nationality underwent numerous and profound changes. At first, communist leaders were inclined to ignore the Ukrainian question. But then they realised that the national movement in Ukraine was an instrument of power and that a respect for minorities was a condition of the growth of bolshevism in countries outside Russia, where the question of nationality had not been solved, the communist party began to display a readiness to make concessions. The educational system of Ukraine was organised, the activity of scientific institutes and the All-Ukrainian Academy in Kyiv supported and Russian officials instructed to learn the Ukrainian language in a short time. Considerable concessions were made to Ukrainian economy and if at the time of the New Economic Plan (NEP 1922-23) centralism was not extinct by any means, it seemed as if a tolerable modus vivendi was emerging.

But in 1929-30 when this system of political economy was liquidated in favor of the first Five Year Plan, there was a complete change. When the collectivist system was introduced it was no longer necessary to pay the respect to Ukrainian peasantry that had hitherto resulted in compromises. From now on,

attention was concentrated on building up a system of social economy within Russia, so that it was no longer necessary to bear in mind national movements in western countries, for the world revolution had been postponed for the meantime. The change in Ukraine took place gradually and in contradiction to public expressions of loyalty. The economic needs of Ukraine were ignored already in the first Five Year Plan, the educational system was restricted and the Academy of Learning came completely under communist influence. Ukrainian officials were replaced by Russians and the standing of Ukraine suffered. Russian, as the language of the Revolution, of Lenin and Stalin, was to be the language of one people which had hitherto used several languages, a fact that had concealed the inner unity that had actually existed.

This development caused a fresh outbreak of national resistance on the part of the Ukrainians. The movement of the rebels which had at first led to guerilla warfare, ceased about 1921-1922: factors responsible for the cessation of hostilities were the appointment of Ukrainian officials to the administration and the fact that the United Ukrainian Church was tolerated. When this also was forbidden and when the collectivist movement in the country met with the spontaneous resistance of the peasantry, a campaign of terrorism was re-started. "Nationalist" differences appeared even within party organisations: bolshevist dignitaries themselves could not keep clear of the Ukrainian movement. Thus in 1925 Shumskyj, commissary for education in the USSR, a very influential communist, was dismissed; in 1933 Skrypnyk, who held the same office and who was a personal friend of Lenin's, comitted suicide because he was unwilling to confess his "nationalist sins" to the party; his example was followed in 1937 by Lubtshenko, long president of the Council of People's Commissaries, in order not to fall into the hands of the GPU. The number of lesser communist dignitaries who were killed as nationalists or separatists is very great, and still greater is the host of those who did not belong to the communist ranks and who suffered the same fate in the struggle for national rights and political independence.

of Rome as the supreme head of their church, the pioneers of the Union and of the cultural independence of Ukraine wished to throw off the cultural yoke of Poland, thinking that they would acquire equal rights with the Poles once the churches were united. The course of events has showed how much they were mistaken; for the Poles have merely exploited this rapprochement in ecclesiastical affairs as an instrument by means of which, with the help of the Jesuits, they aimed at ruling over the entire East and at completely absorbing the Ukrainian nation. 795

Western influence can also be detected in the guild-like organisations of the Ukrainian middle-classes in towns like Lviv Kyiv, Lutsk etc., organisations which, in addition to promoting the interests of a particular class or trade, also concerned themselves with church affairs. One of their main aims was the foundation of schools which taught Latin as well as Church Slavonic and Greek. 441 871

The most important foundation of those so-called Brotherhood schools was undoubtedly the Kyiv Academy which owed its supremacy as an intellectual center, not only of Ukraine, but of the whole of Eastern Europe to the activities of such an eminent personality as Metropolitan Peter Mohyla. Mohyla, the son of the governor of Moldavia and educated in Jesuit schools, remained a life-long advocate of western culture and the Catholic Church, the organisation of which served him as a model when he was planning the reform of the Orthodox Church. We are scarcely able to-day to imagine what an enormous revolution and what great boldness of spirit was implied in the idea of introducing Catholic principles and methods into the organisation of the Orthodox Church which had been hostile to Rome for centuries. And yet this unique plan succeeded and could succeed only in Ukraine, for it was here alone that history had prepared the way for the adoption of these plans for realising western ideas. The spirit which inspired Mohyla's activities was wholly directed towards the West, as was clearly expressed in his innovations: in dogma, however, he remained a loyal disciple of the "faith 874 795 177 .79

874 of his fathers", of the Orthodoxy. He is thus a concrete symbol
795 of the synthesis of two worlds, of the harmonious and complete
union of two cultures, of the meeting of East and West and of
177 the fertilising of Ukrainian Orthodoxy by the Latin spirit of
.79 the Roman Catholic Church.

795 The seed scattered by Mohyla bore rich fruit. Hundreds of
874 scholars, writers, politicians and organisers graduated in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries from this unique "alma mater", the Kyiv Academy, equipped with the modern weapons of western learning, to fight first of all for the independence and the honor of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. After completing their studies in Kyiv the Ukrainian patriots of that time go to Germany to appropriate the arguments used by the Reformation against Catholicism, they penetrate to Rome and do not shrink from joining the Roman Church for a season only in order to become better acquainted with their opponent's plans in the very center of his camp. On their return home they develop an energetic campaign in teaching and writing to prepare and train wide circles of less well educated priests for the fight. In order to supply their audiences with intellectual munition, they publish a series of pamphlets directed against the enemy and all manner of apologies in defence of their own cause, utilising the knowledge they had gathered in the West. This leads to an enormous outburst of polemic writing, to an intellectual activity in the country which strikes even foreigners.

177 But the efforts of these champions of Ukrainian Orthodoxy
814 who had been trained in the West, did not stop there; they performed a still more important function in making European influence supreme in the state of Moscow, or the Russia of Peter, as it was then called. Ukraine contributed no mean share to the work of Peter the Great. The foundation and building of the modern Russian Empire was the almost unaided work of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, for the intellectual conditions for the solving of this task were almost completely lacking in Moscow itself. In order to carry out his reforms which soon degenerated into an absolute mania for reform, Peter utilised